

Message Text

SECRET

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45

ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-07 NSC-10 SPC-03 SS-20 RSC-01 PRS-01

SSO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 DODE-00 DRC-01

BOOK-300 (ISO) W

----- 059680

R 071103Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 162

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

S E C R E T TAIPEI 6734

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TW, CH

SUBJECT: ROC FONMIN DELIVERS AIDE MEMOIRE RE SECSTATE TRIP TO
PEKING

REF: TAIPEI 6724

1. AMBASSADOR CALLED ON FONMIN SHEN CHANG-HUAN NOV 7 AT
SHEN'S REQUEST AND WAS GIVEN AIDE MEMOIRE TRANSMITTED REFTEL.
SHEN NOTED ROC WAS NOT ASKING US TO DO OR NOT DO SPECIFIC
THINGS, BUT WISHED TO EXPRESS ITS DEEP CONCERN AND WORRY
OVER US POLICY AS SIGNIFIED BY SECRETARY'S PEKING TRIP.

2. IN FOLLOWING DISCUSSION SHEN NOTED THAT ABOVE DESCRIPT-
TION IS ACTUALLY AN UNDERSTATEMENT SINCE ROC GOVERNMENT AND
PEOPLE ARE TROUBLED, UNCERTAIN AND APPREHENSIVE OVER SECRE-
TARY'S IMPENDING VISIT AND ITS POSSIBLE AFTER EFFECTS. HE
RECALLED THAT SINCE 1971, ABOUT TWENTY COUNTRIES HAVE
ESTABLISHED RELATIONS WITH PEKING AND BROKEN RELATIONS
WITH ROC. MANY OF THESE GOVERNMENTS HAVE TOLD HIM, SHEN
SAID, THAT IN ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH PRC THEY ARE
TAKING CUE FROM US AS FREE WORLD LEADER. PHILIPPINES,
FOR EXAMPLE, ARE IN PROCESS OF ESTABLISHING TRADE RELA-
TIONS WITH PEKING, WHICH IS MATTER OF CONCERN TO ROC.

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WHILE PLEASED THAT MANY US CONGRESSMEN AND JOURNALISTS

VISITING TAIWAN HAVE SPOKEN FAVORABLY OF ROC STABILITY AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS, SHEN WANTED TO EMPHASIZE THAT WASHINGTON MUST NOT THINK THAT THE ROC CAN TAKE ANY NUMBER OF REVERSES WITHOUT BEING AFFECTED, OR THAT IT CAN ABSORB BLOW AFTER BLOW WITHOUT SERIOUS REPRECUSSIONS. HE SAID THAT DESPITE A SURFACE APPEARANCE OF STRENGTH, THE UNDERLYING STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY HERE WAS FAIRLY FRAGILE. THE APPARENT STABILITY COULD COLLAPSE UNDER REPEATED HEAVY STRESSES AND CONTINUED STABILITY UNDER ADVERSE CIRCUMSTANCES COULD NOT BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED.

3. AMBASSADOR SAID USG WOULD GIVE CAREFUL STUDY TO ROC VIEWS AS EXPRESSED BOTH ORALLY AND IN AIDE MEMOIRE. ADDED THAT US EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH LESS ADVERSARY RELATIONSHIPS WITH PEKING NOT INTENDED TO AFFECT OUR ESSENTIAL RELATIONSHIPS HERE, AND THAT THESE EFFORTS ARE IN THE BROAD INTEREST OF REGIONAL PEACE AND STABILITY. USG, HE NOTED, IS DETERMINED TO PROCEED ALONG THIS LINE OF IMPROVING RELATIONSHIPS WITH PEKING WITHOUT DEROGATING OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH ROC. IN THIS CONNECTION, AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT COUNTRIES WHICH BREAK RELATIONS WITH TAIPEI IN ORDER ESTABLISH FORMAL RELATIONS WITH PEKING ARE NOT TAKING ANY CUE FROM US. US HAS CAREFULLY PRESERVED ITS FULL RANGE OF GOOD RELATIONSHIPS HERE, WHILE ESTABLISHING A NOVEL OF FAIRLY EFFECTIVE CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION WITH PEKING. SHEN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THIS WAS SO, BUT SAID THIS WAS DIFFICULT FOR SOME COUNTRIES TO UNDERSTAND.

4. COMMENT: AIDE MEMOIRE TEXT IS RATHER NARROWER IN FOCUS THAN PREMIER'S ABORTIVE OCT 31 LETTER WHICH IS ENCLOSED WITH AMBASSADOR'S NOV 6 LETTER TO EA DEPT ASST SEC HUMMEL. IT IS ALSO SOMEWHAT LESS SWEEPING THAN THAT LETTER IN PREDICTIONS OF DAMAGE TO ROC POSITION. SHEN'S FOLLOW-UP PRESENTATION WAS CAST IN MORE PORTENTOUS TERMS THAN AIDE MEMOIRE ITSELF. HIS STATEMENT ON REPEATED BLOWS AND THEIR POTENTIALLY HARMFUL EFFECT ON ROC STABILITY DOUBTLESS IS A SINCERELY HELD VIEW. GRC HAS MADE ESSENTIALLY SAME ASSERTION IN OTHER CONTEXTS, E.G. US RECOGNITION OF MONGOLIA. WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT THERE IS GENUINE AND SECRET

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DEEP ANXIETY HERE OVER SECRETARY'S FORTHCOMING VISIT TO PEKING (WHICH WE HAVE REPORTED PREVIOUSLY), WE BELIEVE AIDE MEMOIRE IS PRIMARILY A SERIOUS STATEMENT FOR THE RECORD AKIN TO THOSE MADE IN CONNECTION WITH SECRETARY'S PAST VISITS TO PEKING. THIS SEEMS BORNE OUT BY SHEN'S STATEMENT THAT ROC WAS NOT REQUESTING THAT ANY SPECIFIC ACTION BE TAKEN OR AVOIDED. NUMBERED PARA 3 OF AIDE MEMOIRE, IN PARTICULAR, IS OBVIOUS ATTEMPT TO underscore EXTENT OF US

REASSURANCES TO ROC.

5. ACTION REQUESTED: DEPT PLEASE REPEAT FOR SECRETARY.
MCCONAUGHEY

SECRET

NNN

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